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ABSTRACT

Organizing adult education must be done within the context of development policy. Cultural filters should be used in considering theory and research knowledge. A sensitive use of cultural filters also applies to learning from practice. An assumption is that there should be interfacing and interlinking structures of primary education and adult education. At the other end are innovations in organizational structures, including some micro-institutional arrangements; some important organizational themes; and examples of total systems of institutional arrangements to deliver adult education services on a national scale. An agenda for action has organizational tasks intended to achieve institution building and organizational design and development. Ideology and technology are the two dimensions of the model. Operational steps to develop an organizational system to deliver adult education include: (1) establishing a National Adult Education Council; (2) developing a national mission; (3) surveying adult education; (4) making sociogeographic maps; (5) developing the blueprint for a comprehensive organizational network; (6) socially mobilizing resources; (7) providing technical and professional leadership and support; (8) developing organizational capacity building through training; (9) developing and deploying resources; and (10) developing and sustaining political will. (74 references) (YLB)

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ORGANIZING ADULT EDUCATION FOR ALL

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Background Document

for

The International Symposium on the
Questions of Organizational and Institutional Arrangements
for the Delivery of Adult Education

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and

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BY WAY OF A PREFACE

This paper is offered to the participants of the Osaka Symposium with a deep sense of responsibility, but without any sense of self-importance. Any feeling of self-importance is easily disowned because the real work of the Symposium will, of course, be done in Osaka. It is in Osaka that the participants who will have come from all the four corners of the world will take stock of the present situation in regard to the "Organization of Adult Education for All", and will define current issues and problems. More importantly, it is during the days of the Symposium that the participants will put their heads together, and in a mood of genuine collaboration, will develop general and specific solutions to the problems of delivering adult education for development around the world.

Our deep sense of responsibility in presenting this paper to the participants arises from the fact that documents of this type can indeed be quite helpful when they are well-conceived and well-organized; or, on the contrary, can be quite useless if such documents are ill-conceived and dis-organized. We have, of course, done our best to make this document a useful one. It remains to be seen if we have succeeded in this task.

The paper has drawn from tested theory and systematic practice in institution building, and organizational design and development. However, the material is <u>not</u> arranged in academic categories. The arrangment of the material is made congenial to policy formulation and decision making for organizing adult education services. The paper has been made "user-friendly" by including a memorandum to decision makers on the subject of developing an operational organizational agenda; and on the implementation of such an agenda as participants return to face the difficult challenges of education and development awaiting them at home.

Let us hope that this background document will serve the purposes for which it has been written.

May 5, 1991
Indiana University
Bloomington, Indiana, USA

H.S. Bhola

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. Discussions at international forums such as the World Conference on Education for All (March 5-9, 1990, Jomtien, Thailand) have drawn pointed attention to the institutional and organizational needs of adult education. Practitioners and policy makers agree on this point. Day-to-day experiences of practitioners do confirm the need for expansion and innovation in devising organizational mechanisms for the delivery of adult education with effectiveness and efficiency.

2. A general institutional agenda has emerged that seems to have universal relevance. It consists of:

(1). The need for a national mission and an over-arching program frame for adult education within which most current and future projects and disparate activities of adult education can be integrated in fulfilment of the national mission.

(2). The need to expand and extend institutional arragements and their outreach; to join institutional arrangements of multiple sponsorships and diverse objectives into a coordinated network; to democratize institutional arrangements by promoting participation from both inside and outside of the boundaries of particular organizations; and professionalizing institutions to enable them to serve with both commitment and competence.

(3). The need to undertake a massive and continuous program of capacity building within existing and future institutions of adult education in regard to:

(a). Needs assessments
(b). Project planning and decision making
(c). Budget preparation and control
(d). Personnel management and supervision
(e). Mobilization of teachers and learners
(f). Participative curriculum development
(g). Instructional materials and technology
(h). Training of personnel
(i). Handling logistics of delivery and support
(j). Developing a culture of information, rooted in both descriptive and evaluative information, and
(k). Action research.

3. An important part of implementing the above organizational agenda will, of course, involve "organizing to organize." The following operational steps are recommended for decision-makers to take on return to their home countries:

(i). Each member state of Unesco should begin with the establishment of a National Adult Education Council (NAEC) which then should be instrumental, directly or indirectly, through sub-committees and task forces for undertaking the necessary additional tasks.

(ii). The NAEC should begin with the development and nation-wide dissemination of a statement of the national mission and the general outline of a program frame for an adult education system in the whole country to begin the process of national discussion of the mission and the program frame.

(iii). At the same time, a task force established for the purpose should make iventories of existing adult education institutions, their programs and the coverage of each program.

(iv). The same task force as in (iii) above, or a similar task force should draw socio-geographic maps of regions of the country to plan delivery of adult education services to all learner groups in need of such services on the basis of well-thought out priorities.

(v). A sub-committee on institution building and organizational design should be established to come up with a blueprint of a future organizational network for the delivery of adult education services nation-wide. This sub-committee should pay special attention to the development of organizational interfaces with the formal system of education at the primary school level. It should also pay attention to interfacing with multiple sectors of extension -- especially extension departments of agriculture, health and labor. Indigenous institutions at the grassroots level must be given special attention.

(vi). Sub-committees of the NAEC should work concurrently but cooperatively on questions of needs assessments at various levels of the system; curriculum development to meet general and specific needs of communities; production and publication of adult education materials; and training of teachers and mobilization of learners.

(vii). A nation-wide program for capacity building through training should be developed using the Action Training Model in the multiplier mode so that functionaries at various levels througout the country can be given orientations for the professionally competent delivery of adult education in all the areas listed in (2)(3)(a-k) above.

(viii). A special committee should be established for resource development for adult education keeping in view the possible assistance from donor nations from abroad, resources of the state at various levels, and philanthropists from home and abroad. Special attention should be paid to small contributors to programs from within the communities who in supporting programs can also develop ownership of programs offered in their communties. Resources in cash and kind as well as of influence and intellect should be sought for and cultivated. Collaborative uses of underused resources of other institutions of education and extension should be given special attention.

(ix). Concurrently with all of the above, an advocacy committee should be established which, in collaboration with media institutions and the press, can create a positive environment for adult education in the country and can thereby change adult education into a sustained national movement.

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I

THE POLICY CONTEXT AND

A CATALOG OF ORGANIZATIONAL NEEDS

Ideally, "form" should follow "function." We should, therefore, begin with answering the few basic questions about the means and ends of adult education before going on to discuss the organizational needs and arrangements for adult education.

DEVELOPMENT POLICY CONTEXT

Adult education for the sake of adult education is perfectly justifiable. It is doubly justifiable as the essential instrument of development which today is on the agenda of all nations -- developed and developing.

It is not within the scope of this document to include a substantive discussion of the concept of development. We should be satisfied here with the most general statement of our own development values: that development is about people and not about objects; that development is about freedom of choice; about fairness in economic relations; and about personal fulfilments (Bhola 1989c:20-37; Max-Neef, et al. 1989(1):5-81).

To promote the objectives of freedom, fairness and fulfilment, adult education itself will have to be liberating in both content and method. Learning will have to be learner-centered and community-centered. The choice of content and modes of delivery will be participatively determined. The highest value in the methodology of learning will be that of "learning to learn" (Bhola 1989c:110-119).

It should be noted that we have conceptualized education to include adult literacy on the one hand, and to be interchangeable with the concept of nonformal education, on the other hand.

Some of the institutional and organizational implications of the above are obvious and at the same time somewhat contradictory. We do not, of course, live in a world of infinite degrees of freedom, and zero constraints. The individual and community interests will not always be fully congruent and will have to be reconciled. The interests of the community will often have to be interfaced with the interests of the state. The participative planning process will have to be expanded to include both the local leadership and the specialist. All the adult educator roles will have to be in some sort of horizonatal coordination. Leadership at various levels will have to be vertically in tune if not administratively coordinated. To develop an adult education movement leading to a learning society, a centralism of vision will have to be combined with localism of strategy and action. Symbolic knowledge, not available within the community, will have to be brought in from the outside without necessarily discounting indigenous knowledge. Community level initiatives will have to be assisted by centralized technical structures, for example, in the training of teachers, animators and facilitators, and in the design and production of instructional materials and media.

It is quite clear that to conduct adult education that does not violate the spirit either of adult education or of development, while keeping in mind the realities of existing structures of governance, we will have to be (1) decentralized yet networked, (2) responsive both to the local and the global, (3) endogenous yet entering into a dialog with the exogenous for continuous cultural renewal, (4) participative yet able to profit from the expert from the outside, and (5) oriented to the family and community yet expanding our circle of solidarity. How then do we organize?

ORGANIZATIONAL NEEDS FOR IMPLEMENTING ADULT EDUCATION FOR ALL

As we survey the field of adult education from the organizational and institutional perspectives, even mere intuition helps us see a whole range of unfulfilled needs implicit in the following set of conditions:

1. There is less than sufficient interest in adult education in most countries, including both developed and developing countries.

2. Consequently, it is hard to find adequate organizational mechanisms for the delivery of adult education within the educational systems of most countries, including again both developed and developing countries.

3. While in the developed countries of Europe and North America, there are quite a few non-governmental organizations (NGO's) engaged in adult education, NGO activity in the developing countries is less than sufficient. (India is often mentioned as one exception).

4. Even where institutional and organizational arrangements for the delivery of adult education do exist at some level, these "systems" are unarticulated, and functionally inadequate:

4.1 The existing institutions and organizations of adult education are not networked;

4.2 The state system of adult education institutions wherever it does exist is a top-heavy system;

4.3 The NGO's wherever they exist, and indeed are engaged in adult education, are highly atomistic and fragmented;

4.4 The institutions for the delivery of adult education services are typically bureaucratized -- state institutions of adult education are much more bureaucratized than NGO's;

4.5 Institutions of adult education at the grassroots are either absent or dysfunctional;

4.6 The organizational system, typically, lacks the technical support component to take care of training, publication and research needs of the total system;

4.7 Organizations of adult education are not always organizations enjoying good "organizational health" wherein people are aware of the significance of their roles, are committed to their work, and able to work with each other in groups and teams. There is too often politicization of organizations, bureaucratization and routinization of individual work, leading to alienation; and

4.8 Institutional and organizational capacity for planning and management is greatly lacking so that most organizations are not able to perform effectively functions related to:

(a). Needs assessments
(b). Project planning and decision making
(c). Budget preparation and control
(d). Personnel management and supervision
(e). Mobilization of teachers and learners
(f). Participative curriculum development

(g). Instructional materials and technology
(h). Training of personnel
(i). Handling logistics of delivery and support
(j). Developing a culture of information rooted in both descriptive and evaluative information, and
(k). Action research.

SOME ORGANIZATIONAL NEEDS UNDERLINED

The declaration and the framework for action documents adopted at the World Conference on Education for All (WCEFA) that met at Jomtien, Thailand, during March 5-9, 1990 (Inter-Agency Commission, 1990), have underlined the same kinds of institutional and organizational needs as have been intuitively determined. A scanning of the WCEFA documents shows that the major concerns of the policy making community the world over, in relation to the organizational issues, are essentially of two kinds:

I. building institutional partnerships, and

II. building institutional capacities.

Building institutional partnerships. In relation to building partnerships among educational institutions, it is suggested by the WCEFA that such partnerships be established at all levels and across all appropriate systems and subsystems, e.g.: between and among the various subsectors of education; between education and other departments such as health education, agricultural extension, welfare, labor, etc.; between governmental organizations and NGO's; between public and private organizations; between and among libraries, museums, media and religious institutions; and among all other individual and institutional stakeholders. Such partnerships may require new rules and regulations whereby some of these institutions can accept help as well as obligations through on-site decisions.

Institutional capacity building. The WCEFA documents repeatedly point to the need for capacity building, among workers in educational institutions, in such areas as: needs assessments, planning and management skills, in building data bases for use in problem setting, problem analysis and problem solving, evaluation and use of technology. Ability to do research and to develop and implement small scale innovation are also part of the expectations.

II

LEARNING FROM THEORY AND PRACTICE

It is obvious that we learn from practice -- our own practice and practice of others. And theory, as Kurt Lewin is known to have said, is the most practical thing, because it is through theory that experience from practice and knowledge from research can be sytematized and abstracted into usable insights and principles. A caution is necessary, however, in using knowledge from other countries and cultures.

SEEING THROUGH THE CULTURAL FILTERS; AND ADAPTING TO DIFFERING CONTEXTS

We know it quite well today that knowledge is a social construction, and social-scientific knowledge particularly is deeply rooted in cultures in which it is developed. One should not, therefore, expect the theory of organization or the technology of organizational intervention to be transferable and applicable whole-sale to all other cultures without adaptation. Indeed, quite often knowledge developed elsewhere should be used as no more than a stimulus to develop insights relevent to new contexts.

For example, there is considerable discussion in literature today about the mode of orgaziation called Theory Z (Ouchi 1982; Nagao 11985). This theory is meant to reflect the special organizational culture that is at the same time familial and competitive and is attributed to the special genius of the Japanese people. While Theory Z may be usable in some cultures and some organizational sectors, it may not be applicable to some other cultures and other organizational sectors. Adaptations will be necessary.

Again, in teaching entrepreneurial skills to managers, the assumption has sometimes been made that all individuals have a strong need for individual achievement on which training strategies can be built (McClelland 1961). This assumption may not be as culture-free as it has been claimed to be. Even harmless-looking organizational techniques such as games and simulations may not work because in some cultures playing games is for kids not for grown-ups. Consequently, it may take some time before individual participants in a Third World organization would agree to use strategies associated with

Organization Development (OD) because they may not be ready to talk of feelings in groups and in the process make themselves vulnerable (Huse & Cummings 1985).

Nor can actual practice be brought in whole-sale and merely imitated. All technologies are rooted, more or less deeply, in the cultures that invent them. Even hard technologies have such cultural roots. In the case of soft technologies, their cultural roots are even more important. We are not saying, of course, that we stay away from all things foreign. We only make the point that the cultural correlates and consequences of borrowed practices be anticipated and effectively dealt with. We must, therefore, not merely copy, but must re-invent practices from elsewhere in our local settings.

CONNECTING KNOWLEDGE WITH DECISIONS AND ACTIONS

In the section immediately preceding, we have discussed the need to filter theory and research, and description and observation of practice through our cultural and contextual filters. Here we want to make another important point about the utilization of theory and research in the design of policy, plans and programs (Weiss 1977).

For a long time, we have suffered from the illusion that knowledge was so powerful that once it was generated, it would determine the course of policy, planning and implementation. We know now that policy, planning and implementation are not "knowledge-driven." Between the stage of knowledge production and knowledge utilization, there are intermediate steps of knowledge storage, knowledge processing, and the politics of knowledge:

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Knowledge      Knowledge      Knowledge       Knowledge
Production ->  Storage &   -> Processing  ->  Generalization ->..
               Retrieval ->

      Politics of       Knowledge
..->  Knowledge    ->     Utilization
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Even when knowledge is appropriately processed for the understanding and use of the policy maker or planner, and even when it does become generalized, that is, it becomes a part of "conventional wisdom", even then it has to survive the politics of knowledge use before actual utilization.

LEARNING FROM ORGANIZATIONAL THEORY AND RESEARCH

For the reasons delineated above, we opt not to present an academic review of the literature, but to process knowledge of institution building, organizational design and development and capacity building into "general insights" and present it in terms of decision situations likely to be faced by organizers and administrators of adult education. The review can by no means claim to be complete and comprehensive:

Institutions and organizations distinguished. The two words, institution and organization have often been confused. There are two problems. On the one hand, institution is a word used to describe an informal social pattern which has become a permanent social configuration such as the "institution of the family", or the "institution of divorce", etc. On the other hand, the words institution and organization are used interchangeably. We suggest that we use the two words thus: If someone opens a new elementary school in the capital city of a Third World country, the process should be seen as a replication of an organization. But if the school is opened for the children of nomads who as a community have never been exposed to the concept of the school, then the process may be considered to be that of institution building. The first-ever marketing cooperative in Tanzania, by this definition, was an instance of institution building, but the 100th cooperative opened in Tanzania was not. It was merely a replication of a known organizational pattern (Bhola 1989c).

Institutions can be built; organizations can be designed and developed. If the above definitional distinction is the first contribution of theory, then the second important contribution of organizational theory and research is that institutions and organizations can be built from scratch to suit missions and objectives (Lincoln 1985; Blase 1986; Morgan 1986; Scott and Jaffe 1989; Bolman & Deal 1991). This is done by designing "roles" and by writing "rules" for relating those roles, toward the achievement of particular missions (Bhola & Bhola 1984). The rules we have talked about are meant to create a system of communication covering a network of order and compliance among different role incumbents at different levels of the system. Institutional missions, it must be understood are not static, but dynamic and these missions keep on changing in interaction with the environment. In some cases, "goal-displacement" can occur because of drastic compromises in the institutional missions. Roles and rules are also dynamic entities. Role conflicts arise leading to new negotiated roles.

Rules also change to reflect role negotiations. Rules become elastic because of personal reasons or because of objective circumstances. Infact, working strictly by rules, is one way of going on strike! (Bhola & Bhola 1984).

Politics of policy-making. Institution building and organizational design and development are always done within the context of policy-making. Understanding the overall policy game is, therefore, absolutely essential for the organizers of adult education. Adult education, more often than not, is a progressive policy initiative. Adult education distributes educational goods to those who have had none or few educational goods. Also, adult education is immediately usable and, therefore, can create immediate societal consequences. These consequences may involve affirmative actions in behalf of women, lower castes or other disadvantaged groups. However, there may be interest groups in a society who may want the status quo to continue and, therefore, may be against such progressive policy objectives for adult education. Corporate interests may highjack an adult education movement and distort it into a plan for the professionalization of labor for their own profit (Bhola 1988a; 1989c).

The politics of institutional structures. Institution building is like launching new institutions in the institutional space of a society. That makes institution building a political act. Institution building often has to face politics at yet another level. A new institution in the institutional space of the society, will be suspect simply because it is one additional entity that may encroach upon the turf held by older institutions and may compete for the same resources (Bhola 1989c).

The sociology of new structures. Institutions (or organizations) are essentially an emergence from the dialectic between "roles" and "rules" seeking to achieve a "mission." All the three parameters of institutions are sociologically confounded. Institutional missions may be unacceptable. Roles may be uncongenial to existing social structures or subcultures. Role incumbents may be unacceptable for reasons of age, gender, class, or caste. Again, the status attributes of new roles may be higher or lower than the status actually held by the role incumbents within the social system, thereby creating several problems. Rules within the organization may be too formal and contractual for a society that is still highly familial (Bhola & Bhola 1984).

The two architectures of organizations. It is implied in the above that institutions or organizations are not merely technical systems. They are at the same time social systems as

well. Max Webers' classical theory of organizations based on the assumptions of hierarchy of authority, task specialization and division of labor, written rules and regulations, impersonality, objectivity in personnel policies and rational and systematic processes (Weber 1947) has been turned upside down. Organizations today are seen as "losely coupled" systems, even as "organized anarchies." The rational decision making has been supplanted by the "garbage can model of organizational decision making" (McGregor 1961; Owens 1987; Weick 1979).

Organizations as cultures. An important theoretical view being advanced today is that of looking at organizations as cultures in their own right (Frost 1985; Ott 1989). Organizational cultures are, of course, products of the history and experiences of the group constituting the organization. The organizational culture is expressed in shared values, beliefs, expectations, and norms internalised by the organizational actors. To learn about the culture of an organization, one must begin by listening to organizational stories, myths and metaphors, and watching its rites, rituals and ceremonies.

Special problems of normative organizations. Organization theory tells us that there are three kinds of organizations: Coersive, Contractual and Normative (Etzioni 1964). Educational organizations, and particularly adult education institutions and organizations are normative organizations where role incumbents are engaged in moral action in behalf of the society. Adult education workers are considered to be responsible for their own work and are not supposed to be supervised by their officers as are workers typically supervised in contractual and law and order organizations. All is not well, however. For effective work within normative organizations role incumbents need long periods of socialization to internalize those norms. Normative institutions need to continuously reinforce the special normative ethos of the normative organization. Most adult educators are not properly socialized and most adult education institutions do not support a normative organizational environemnt.

Third World organizations. Development is on the agenda of all Third World nations today, and whatever the particular national definition of development, it does involve the importation of secular and modernizing institutions. The cultural ecology of the Third World is, however, seen to be starkly different from the cultural ecology of the West where these modernizing institutions were invented and developed. When modernizing institutions are imported from abroad, they undergo local adaptations which are sometimes so drastic that Third World institutions have come to be seen as social entities

of their own peculiar type. For example, Third World organizations have been found to have low levels of specialization, formalization of roles but not of functions, too many levels of hierarchy with strict stratification, status-oriented communication, low morale, and low cooperation, having paternalistic, authoritarian leadership style, high centralization and diffusion of responsibility for actions, and high level of dysfunctional conflict (Kiggundu 1989). Third World organizations are seen sometimes to have latent functions that are drastically different from their manifest functions. For example, these institutions may not be instrumental at all but merely sites for the distribution of material resources (Morris 1981; Bryant & White 1982).

Indigenous institutions. While secular-modernizing institutions are often seen to regress in the discharge of their functions within developing countries, indigenous institutions within these cultures are seen to be particularly useful. These indigenous institutions are typically already tried institutions that work, and are supposed to have inherent acceptance and legitimacy among communities (Kidd and Colletta 1981). These institutions may be both local and regional and wherever possible should be used to serve the new educational needs of adults in communities.

Interfacing, coordinating and networking institutions. Interfacing, coordinating and networking have become cliches in the discussion of organizations and institutions. Adult educators are asked to work for interfacing between FE and NFE. Coordination is recommended among institutions of education and extension. Networking is suggested between and among peoples and organizations engaged in adult education. Case study research, and theory in the area are telling us that these tasks are by not means easy. Interfacing requires deep understandings of the structures and functions of the systems being interfaced. Coordination and networking is a continuous process requiring selective interactions on a continuous basis in the contexts of coordinated policy development, coordinated planning, shared use of resources, coordinated evaluation and clever ways of sharing credit and blame for action and inaction (Rogers 1981; Chisholm 1989; Lawrence 1991).

Replicating existing organizational structures. Even replication of organizational units is not as easy as it might seem at first sight. Conducting task analyses, developing job descriptions, and lists of qualifications and personal backgrounds for jobs are all challenging tasks to say the least.

Training and socialization of personnel within organizations requires attention. In expanding existing organizations, the same set of problems must be faced for effective incorporation of new personnel within the organization (Bhola and Bhola 1984).

Theory of the voluntary organization and individual voluntarism. Voluntary organization, as we know it today, came from the West. The theory of voluntary association derives from the Western theory of the state, the theory of democracy, and theory of voluntarism but has found fertile ground in the post-colonial Third World. Dreamers think that the state will wither away as voluntary associations spread. Others look at voluntary associations as anti-bureaucratic, less authoritarian, closer to traditional social values and specially able to serve the interests of marginalized sections of populations. It is well understood, however, that voluntary associations are unlikely to supplant the state and are themselves not completely immune to erosion of virtues or the corruption of power (Editorial 1987; Gorman 1984; Muttalib 1987).

Capacity building. Building professional capacity of adult education organizations is one of the most persistent themes in policy discourse today. The needs of capacity building are varied and have been listed elsewhere in the text of this document. Capacity building, of course, involves both substance and process. Considerable attention has been given to the process of capacity building and several models of training design and delivery have been proposed. The Action Training Model (ATM) which develops training content participatively with participants and delivers training within the context of actual program actions has proved to be a good choice for capacity building in program development, writing reading materials and in evaluation (Bhola, 1983; 1988a; 1989b).

Organization development (OD). If organizational capacity building is predominantly a rational process meant to strengthen the technical architecture of an organization, then organization development is basically the process of strengthening the social architecture of organizations (Huse and Cummings 1985). Organizational actors are treated as inherently curious, capable of growth, trustworthy, and willing to take initiatives (McGregor 1961). Feelings are treated as facts and are dealt with honestly. Organization development thus helps integration within the organization and neutralizes workers' alienation by reconciling personal and organizational goals.

Grassroots organizations; mass organizations. Grassroots organizations have become sacred cows of development work and, therefore, worthy of worship. Once we can get through the

mystification of labelling, grassroots organizations are indeed peoples' organizations that can serve peoples' interests. Case studies of the role of grassroots organization in development in general and in adult education in particular put them in very good light (Duke 1990; Kleymeyer 1991). Building grassroots organizations comes closest to building political organizations at the local levels. Within socialists systems, grassroots organizations were often incorporated within monolithic mass organizations (Bhola 1989c).

Participation and collaboration. Participation and collaboration are two other current coins of discussion in development and adult education. Adult educators are being asked to do participative planning, participative implementation, and participative evaluation. Participatory strategies, not unlike democratic strategies, are difficult to implement and can easily degenerate into manipulation. Both theoretical discussion and case study research have pointed to the fact that participatory strategies are difficult if not impossible within the context of unequal relationships of power and unequal access to knowledge. Adult educators should, of course, continue to use participatory strategies in micro-social settings of groups and communities but should be aware of the shortcomings and the pitfalls involved in participative strategies (Lisk 1985; Majeres 1985; Shaeffer 1991).

III

LEARNING FROM REAL-WORLD EXPERIENCES

Statements about a sensitive use of cultural filters in the utilization of theory and research knowledge, also apply to learning from practice. Practice is also rooted in social, economic and political contexts. We should, therefore, guard against any imitative use of practices elsewhere. The patterns and modes of organization of adult education that have proven effective in other countries should be imaginatively adapted to local conditions.

SOME GENERAL TRENDS: AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Seen in an international perspective the organization of adult education looks like the following:

1. The reality of the organization of adult education can be seen to be at the same time marked by organizational pluralism and institutional fragmentation. Governmental institutions, non-governmental institutions, churches and universities are all involved. Within the government adult education may be located within a ministry of education or within a ministry of social services.

2. Generally speaking, adult education is not as well organized as its counterpart primary education for children and youth is. There are, of course, exceptions as in China, India, and Botswana, to name a few.

3. The organization of adult education where it does exist, is a top-heavy structure. While there may be a bureau of adult education in the central ministry or a separate directorate of adult education at the center somewhere, there are no intermediate institutions at the level of provinces or districts, and organizations for the delivery of adult education services at the grassroots are even rarer. Again, there are exceptions. In China, the organization of adult education is extensive with interlinked institutions going from the center down to the rural communities, called the peasant schools of culture and technology.

3.1 One needs to qualify the general statement above. While most countries do not have organized ways of delivering adult education, they do have adhocratic arrangements for delivering adult education services. These organizations, however, are often rooted in voluntarism and the roles and responsibilities of these volunteers are like so much writing in the sand.

4. The organization of adult education is most often the organization for delivery only. The total network does not include the orgnization for professional support. Mechanisms for training, production of materials, evaluation and action research seldom exist. The network of adult education resource centers in India are a welcome exception.

5. Overall, the organization of adult education is not commensurate with the real needs; and if the challenges of the WCEFA have to be met, much organizational work needs to be done.

Let us now review some examples of practice in the real world.

INTERFACING AND INTERLINKING STRUCTURES OF PRIMARY EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION

In the current discussion of the organization of adult education, there is always the assumption that there should be an interfacing and interlinking beween the institutional structures of formal education (FE) and those of adult education and nonformal approaches to education (NFE).

This is not merely a theoretical wish. Basic education for all will indeed have to walk on two legs of universal primary education; and universalized access to adult education. The realities of the world of practice are demanding that interfacing and interlinking between the two sectors should happen. For example, literacy campaigns and programs organized for adult men and women have been obliged to serve the needs of school-age children who showed up in literacy classes for adults because there was nowhere else for them to go. On the other hand, primary education programs, offering a second chance for schooling, find themselves dealing with older children already in the economy and already playing adult roles in their families. In such cases, primary education, of necessity, has acquired characteristics that we associate with adult education programs.

Two recent and rather useful documents distributed by the Unesco Institute of Education, Hamburg (Abreu de Armengol 1990; Ranaweera 1990), have looked at some select cases of alternative

and innovative modes of organizing delivery of primay education for out-of-school older children, and have analyzed their structures and functions to draw lessons for use by organizers of nonformal education programs elsewhere.
Ahmed and Coombs (1975) had done a similar, and a much more comprehensive, analysis for nonformal education some fifteen years earlier.

Abreu de Armengol (1990) systematically analyzes six cases: (1) Nonformal and Alternative Approach to Primary Level Education Operated by the Swanirvar (Self-Reliant), Bangladesh where primary level education is combined with several vocational opportunities for children who must contribute to family income; (2) The Yagamukama Centers of Nonformal Education, Burundi, initially started by the Catholic Church for catechization but which now provide elementary education to those enrolled; (3) The Nonformal Education Program, Bosconia-La Florida, Colombia which combines primary education with juvenile industry; (4) Action-Research Project in Part-Time Nonformal Primary Education, India, which with community support provides part-time nonformal primary classes, followed by continuing education through Reading and Listening Centers where other cultural activities also take place; (5) Nai Roshni (New Light) Schools, Pakistan that offered essentially a condensed form of the existing primary education schooling; and (6) Nonformal Arrangements for Alternative Primary Education: Literacy Classes and Learning Activity Centers, Sri Lanka, wherein, once again, second chance primary education to children was offered while connecting them with other community development projects.

Ranaweera (1990) in his paper returns to some of the same cases but refers to initiatives some of which are now considered historic such as The Gandhian Basic Education Project also called the Wardha Scheme; Bolivia's Nuclear System (where one well-provided primary school served as a community center as well as the nuclear center for a number of lower level schools in surrounding communities that could not afford a complete primary school); The Comilla Project in Bangladesh (a well-known project of integrated community education); Kwamsisi Community Education Center, Tanzania (an example of education in an Ujamaa village); The Ruralized Primary Schools of Cameroon; The Integrated Rural Education Center of Sudan; The Bhumiadhar Project in India (another alternative primary education program); Alternatives to Conventional Primary Schooling in Upper Volta; The Large-Scale School Equivalency Program in Thailand; and several other school equivalency programmes around the world including the ACPO (Accion Cultural Popular) of Colombia.

Ranaweera (1990) then goes on to list schools for children of nomads in Algeria; schools for parking boys in Nairobi; programs for street boys of Bogota; the Mobile Tent Schools of the Philippines; the Cheli Beti program in Nepal; the mobile school network for children of itinerant families such as gypsy families; the L'Ecole Nomade of Mali and some others.

Looking at these all together, one can see that large-scale government owned programs tend to be closer to the existing structures of primary education, whereas those that are small-scale and are run by non-government organizations are more responsive, more innovative and altogether more successful.

Successful programs do seem to share among them the same patterns, structures and functions: they are need-based; conduct decentralized planning; are community controlled; they are flexible in terms of time, modes and places of delivery; they are genuinely learner-centered; they do not simply teach content, but also teach self-confidence and self-esteem; they are adapted to situational realities; are not preparations for later years in life but show immediate results; and these are economical enough to be sustainable.

FROM THE ADULT EDUCATION END: INNOVATIONS IN ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES

In the following, we will now look at organizational structures from the other end, that is, from the perspective of adult education. Here we have picked up examples that are both micro and macro in nature. We begin with some micro institutional arrangements and then go on to refer to some important organizational themes such as voluntary organizations, popular movements, and grassroots institutions. Finally, examples of total systems of institutional arrangements to deliver adult education services on national scales are discussed. The cases of India, China and Tanzania are included in this category.

ADULT EDUCATION CENTERS WITHIN COMMUNITIES

Establishing adult education centers right within communities -- as twins to the primary school -- has been a persistent hope of adult educators and community development people. In this regard, the history of adult education is littered with dashed hopes. Adult education centers within communities, with different names, have been attempted and then abandoned because resources to run them dried up or because communities showed no interest and made no use of those centers (Bhola 1981).

Attempts were made to change existing primary schools into "school-and-community" centers. Here, again, attempts have failed because the school and the community center have been incompatible both in objectives and organization and educators have been unable to develop an over-arching program and a supra-organization to accommodate both the school and the community center.

VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS

Voluntary organization for adult education also has been a persistent theme in adult education practice. Voluntary action for adult education was proposed to avoid the excesses of the state exemplified by Germany under the Nazis. Here, again, success has been qualified. Most Third World countries have been independent for too short a time to have developed a robust tradition of voluntary organization for self-direction, self-reliance, and self-education. Voluntary organizations have been too small to substitute for state initiative. They have been unable to raise funds from communities and, paradoxically, have had to depend on resources of the state or on donors from abroad. Inspite of these limits, voluntary organizations have played a significant role in countries where they are allowed to function. They have been able to work within communities, have been reponsive to the needs of communities and have fulfilled needs neglected by the state in imaginative and innovative ways (Editorial 1987).

POPULAR ORGANIZATIONS

Voluntary organization of adult education, particularly in Latin America, and with inspiration from Paulo Freire's pedagogy of the oppressed, has taken the popular turn, popular being defined as action by the people in people's own interests (LaBelle 1987; Bernal 1991).

REAL GRASSROOTS INSTITUTIONS; INDIGENOUS INSTITUTIONS

Popular adult education institutions are at the same time grassroots institutions and are indeed built upon institutions indigenous to the communities and cultures. Since grassroot development has come to have a special moral ring to it, it is necessary to give some attention to the organization of grassroot actions (Duke 1990).

Grassroots development requires that people organize themselves to overcome obstacles to their economic, social and cultural well-being. Development objectives are not stated in

narrow economic terms but typically include self-esteem, collective self-confidence, and positive group or ethnic identity. Grassroots development must involve participatory planning and bottom-up action. The agenda of action often has self-help projects as well as the organization of pressure groups to confront pubic and private institutions. Grassroots development is necessarily people-oriented, stressing the development of human resources over physical infrastructures. Empowerment and democratization are the key words (Kleymeyer, 1991:38-39).

The organization of grassroots organizations is more in the nature of community organization within a political tradition than organizational design in the mode of technical rationality. "The belief is that broad-based, sustainable development at the lower levels of society results primarily from the strengthening of local organizations....Improved organizational and problem-solving capacity is crucial for each group, as is the formation of mutually supportive coalitions, federations, and networks." (Kleymeyer 1991: 39.)

Grassroots organizations are not a panacea for all problems. The fact is that all of the problems experienced by the disadvantaged are not local problems amenable to local solutions; and all the resources needed to solve local problems can not always be generated at the grassroots.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION IN INDIA

The organizational arrangements for the delivery of adult education in India are extensive but by not means equal to the task of serving the adult education needs of a country that will have a population of around 844 million by the end of 1991.

Looking from the center, while the national planning commission in India through a combination of leadership and grants influences state policies, the discontinuity of policy between the center and the states is an undeniable reality. Looking from the other end, while the delivery of adult education may have benefitted from the organization of India into community development Blocks (a cluster of around 100 villages, and a hold over from the hey-day of community development), there has been no adult education organization at the community level. No adult educator role has replaced the Village Level Worker (VLW) of the community development era. Adult education today is in the hands of volunteers, almost always characterized as the weakest link in the delivery of adult education.

The following characteristics of the organization of adult education in India are note-worthy:

Professional leadership and technical support. Too often analysts of institutional arrangements focus exclusively on the administrative organization of delivery of services and fail to discuss the organization of technical-professional support. India has had the benefit of technical, professional, and policy support from the Indian Adult Education Association (IAEA) for the last fifty years. Ever since its inception in 1939, IAEA has published a journal, the Indian Adult Education Journal (IJAE) and through its annual all-India adult education conferences has provided forums for discussion of policy, plans, methods and values underlying the total project of adult education and development in the country. The universities in India have also taken up the task of supporting adult education through training, research and sometimes through service in the communities. Ninety-two universities in India today have departments, centers, or cells for adult education or continuing education (IJAE 1990).

State Resource Centers and District Resource Units. In more recent times, the Central Government has promoted the establishment of a network of State Resource Centers and District Resource Units all over the country. It is the objective of these centers and units to provide on request technical and professional assistance to any and all projects of adult literacy and adult education in their particular areas (Bhola 1989c).

Voluntary associations in Indian adult education. India is proud of the role played by voluntary organizations in the area of adult education in India. Some statements about their role may, however, be exaggerated. While the number of voluntary associations active in India may seem large, their coverage is small. Indeed, the Government of India has limited their share of resources at 10 percent of the total allocations. Since most of the so-called voluntary organizations live exclusively off government grants, their freedom to strike new paths is compromised and community ownership of their programs does not take place. Finally, political parties, trade unions and students have shown little interest in adult literacy and adult education work as we undersand it (Editorial 1987).

A new attempt at establishing adult education centers in communities. The latest attempt at establishing adult education centers in the communities is the Jan Shikshan Nilayams (JSN's), centers for providing continuing education opportunities for all sections of the community but particularly for neo-literates. Few have yet been established and the concept itself has not

escaped criticism. Adult educators working outside the state programs point out that there are 578,862 villages in the country out of which 395,654 (that is, 68 percent) already have a primary school in the community. They suggest that it will make much more sense if the schools are developed in school-cum-community centers instead of allocating scarce resources to a brand new institution and being able to open only a handful of such institutions (IJAE 1990:16).

Adult literacy or adult education programs in India are delivered at centers within the communities where people meet as groups. Some each-one-teach-one activity is also encouraged, but the approach is essentially center-based.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION IN CHINA

The most important feature of adult education in China today is its institutionalization. Education Commissions from the Center down to the County or Town have separate adult education departments, divisions or sections. At the lowest level, there are Peasants' Schools of Culture and Technology. These schools have their own buildings, and full-time adult educators to work with men and women in the communities. A variety of short-term and long-term courses, all geared to the needs of local communities are available (Bhola 1990b).

Adult educators have had a mental block against the institutionalization of adult education. Their fear is that through institutionalization adult education will lose its capacity to be responsive to the real ever-changing needs of adults in communities and ultimately adult education will become a shadow of the formal primary education. These fears are real. But the solution seems to be in being organizationally and programatically vigilent rather than remaining for ever adhocratic and transient. The experiences from the North tell us that adult education like the education of children has to be seen as a permanent business of the nation. While constituencies will change and objectives wil differ, adult education needs will never be finished. Adult education professionals working within adult education institutions may be as necessary as the school teacher, the priest, and the postman.

THE CASE OF TANZANIA

The case of Tanzania deserves our utmost attention for at least two reasons. The substantive reason is that Tanzania even though one of the least developed countries yet decided during the 1960s to allocate resources for the establishment of a nation-wide network of institutions for adult education. Its experiences with these institutions over the last two decades

are worth examining. The second, and an opportunistic reason is that as recently as February 1991, the Government of Tanzania in collaboration with Unesco, has systematically and comprehensively deliberated on the issue of "co-ordinated non-formal education programming for out-of-school youth in Tanzania" and proposed "an action plan to develop self-reliance" in Tanzanian education and development (Spaulding et al. 1991). In the last section of this background document, we will propose that each and every member-state of Unesco, with or without outside assistance, should undertake such a planning exercise and come up with a plan similar to that of Tanzania.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ADULT EDUCATION IN TANZANIA

As sketched in the Spaulding report (1991 February), Tanzania under Nyerere understood the extremely progressive role of adult education in the development and democratization of Tanzania. In the wake of the Arusha Declaration (1967), a variety of structures of adult education were established. The directorates and departments to administer adult education and adult literacy in behalf of the state went from the center down to the ward and the village. The government structure with assistance from the structures of the party were used quite effectively to conduct the nation-wide literacy and post-literacy campaign that during a period of twenty years brought up literacy rates from as low as 30 per cent to as much as 85 per cent. The literacy and post literacy campaign was complemented with several "development campaigns" over the radio.

A variety of innovative institutions for the delivery of adult education were developed, among them: Folk Development Colleges; Post-Primary Technical Centers; Youth Economic Groups programme; National Vocational Training Centers; and the National Correspondence Institute. The Adult Education Institute and the education department of the University of Dar es Salaam have been used with good effect to train the needed manpower for the various adult education institutions in the counry.

THINGS WORTH DOING AND FIXING

The Spaulding report (1991) while it was impressed with Tanzania's past achievements and while it understood the limits of action within constraints imposed by the present economic conditions and international relations did point out some things worth doing and fixing to move the country toward self-reliance in education and development. Among these were:

o expanding the services to serve the educational needs of of school leavers, school dropouts, and children unable to attend school;

o developing a global vision, that is, a national program under which all the various activities and projects could be co-ordinated;

o emphasising sort-term programs responsive to the ever-changing needs of youth and adults and de-emphasising long-term programs leading to certificates that seem already to have been captured by the bureaucracy; and

o paying attention to the formative evaluation of projects and activities under the overall program to ensure greater effectiveness and efficiency.

RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT: ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURES AND ACTIONS

The Spaulding report (1991) made recommendations to the government of Tanzania that anticipates many of the recommendations that this background document will be making. (The writing of this document was begun sometimes in December 1990 whereas the Spaulding report became available to the author only in mid-March). Here are the recommendations included in the Tanzanian mission report:

1. An organizational arrangement to be called the "Action Council for Coordinated Non-formal Education for Self-Reliance Skills (ACCESS) should be immediately established. The membership of ACCESS should reflect all national interests. To give it the necessary authority and prestige, ACCESS may have to be given legal status through legislation.

2. Under ACCESS, on the one hand, an in-depth survey of adult education needs of the nation should be undertaken, and, on the other hand, a detailed inventory of adult education institutions and activities should be developed.

3. As the inventory advances, subgroups of ACCESS should be developed to work on various issues and initiatives. Tasks forces of some sort may be working on campaigns, distance education, instructional materials, and training of adult education professionals.

4. ACCESS should develop an overall conception of a national program of adult education under which all existing piece-by-piece projects, and activities can be subsumed; and should also develop a comprehensive assessment of perceived needs of donor assistance.

5. ACCESS should develop plans and strategies for evaluation of the program, projects and activities with a view to modifying them for greater program effectiveness, and for the best possible cost-effectiveness.

With a review of the organizational theory and research behind us and with some familiarity with a few innovative organizational initiatives, we are now ready to develop some sort of a generalized technical agenda for "adult education for all" around the world and to think of the steps we need to take to implement such an agenda. To these issues we now turn.

IV

A TECHNICAL AGENDA AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION

THE AGENDA

An analysis of the policy context in the beginning of this document and a review of practice in the section immediately preceding suggest an agenda for action that can be generalized to most settings around the world. Priorities and emphases will, of course, differ but the organizational tasks everywhere can be framed in terms of the following:

	Institution-Building	Organizational Design and Development
Ideology	Agenda Part,1	Agenda Part,2
Technology	Agenda Part,3	Agenda Part,4

Institution building, and organizational design and development are activities that are similar in nature, though they can be seen to lie at different points of a molar-molecular dimension. Institution building is conducted in larger societal contexts. The boundaries of organizational design and development are typically the organization itself. That is not to say that organizational boundaries are closed. Thus, the technologies of institution building and organizational design and development are also quite similar.

THE VALUE AGENDA

While most theory and research in institution building and organizational design/development is transferable across cultures, all is not transferable without adaptation. The ideological dimension would be an important determinant of what is or is not usable or transferable. Ideology determines the political culture, the definition of development (Max-Neef 1989), and in fact the definition of adult education as objective and process (Bhola 1989c).

Whatever the political culture, the following values will be often found to be in tension:

National objectives versus local objectives,

Centralization versus decentralization,

Effectiveness versus efficiency,

Commitment versus competence, and

Expertise versus participation.

These will need to be reconciled within particular contexts in the interest of the people. These reconciliations, we suggest, are indeed possible:

1. Institutionalization without formalization. Whatever needs to be done systematically and with some expectation of continuity needs a system, that is, some minimum level of institutionalization of the services. Yet, at the same time, over-institutionalization should be avoided to guard against the routinization of missions and the standardization of the methods of response.

2. Comprehensiveness and extensiveness. The institutional network for the delivery of adult education services should be conceptualized to be comprehensive and extensive. The delivery of services should have outreach to where the people to be served actually live and work -- villages, clusters of villages, farms, factories, mines, and slums.

Adult education services at the point of delivery should be appropriately housed, and should be so located as to be accessible to all in the community irrespective of caste, creed and color. Such a central place should be in the nature of a community learning resources center and have sufficient instructional materials, equipment, and facilities so as to be

able to offer instruction both on premises and away from the premises in various locations within the community (Bhola 1981). If, at all possible, there should also be available at the center, facilites to produce locally simple instructional materials such as mimeo-graphed illustrations and texts, silk screen posters, charts, bulletin boards, wall newspapers etc. (and in some cases, perhaps, photographs and videos).

The curriculum of such centers should be a suitable mix of the national and the local, indeed, national visions should be re-invented in local settings to make it both responsive and meaningful to the local groups and communities. All leadership, including curricular leadership should be in the hands of the local community. The processes of problem-setting, management, planning for action, curriculum development, and later on, of instruction and evaluation should be handled participatively (Bhola 1981).

3. Multi-sectoral conception of adult education. Adult education should be widely interpreted to include multi-sectoral services -- cultural, recreational, educational and of extension -- and all these services should be available from this one single location (Bhola 1989c). (It should be remembered that some attempts have been made also to combine such a community center with the primary school. Unfortunately, the "community school" movements everywhere in the world have had a history of failure.)

4. Technical component of the institutional network. The institutional network of adult education and adult literacy should be more than a mere delivery system. The institutional network of adult education should also have a strong technical component of resource centers that can undertake research, provide training, produce materials, and conduct evaluations. There should be clear articulation between and among such centers located at various levels of the total system. In addition to the functional articulation between and among these centers, there should be opportunities for adult educators and literacy workers to have professional associations for exchange of experiences and mutual enrichment (1989c).

THE TECHNICAL AGENDA

The technical agenda as we can see has the following items:

1. Institution building to move towards an institutional system that is adequate for the needs of the society and has the necessary outreach to serve them where they are.

1.1 The institutional system should be both administrative and technical-professional.

2. Networking of all institutions into a common partnership for the implementation of a commonly shared mission and program frame (UNDP 1990; Lawrence 1991; Spaulding et al. 1991)

2.1 This network should include both public and private, state and voluntary associations, education and extension, and indigenous and modern institutions.

3. The institutional system should have the organizational capacity to effectively perform the tasks required of it (Inter-agency Commission 1990).

4. Organizational development for maintaining healthy organizations that are "enabling" organizations, can work with volunteers and can implement participative planning and evaluation (Shaeffer 1990).

STEPS TOWARDS AN ORGANIZATIONAL SYSTEM TO DELIVER ADULT EDUCATION FOR ALL

Groups do sometimes come about sponteneously. However, the processes of organizing, and institutionalizing are seldom spontaneous and hardly ever instantaneous. Organizing and institutionalizing have to be systematic, and they are often difficult and long-drawn. Fortunately, we do have today models to help in the design and implementation of purposive actions such as those needed in this case (Bhola, 1989a).

1. ORGANIZING TO ORGANIZE: A NATIONAL ADULT EDUCATION COUNCIL

Nothing much is likely to happen, unless in each and every country, a grouping of the committed is created, a well-designed initiative is undertaken, and unless this initiative itself is institutionalized to be able (i) to develop a suitable nation-wide configuration of institutions; (ii) to link these institutions into a network; (iii) to generate resources for the organization and implementation of adult education programs and (iv) to develop an environment to create and sustain the political will (Bhola 1989a).

The institutionalization of the initiative suggested above could take the form of a National Adult Education Council (NAEC) -- in the Spaulding report on Tanzania (1991) referred to above such a council was named ACCESS. This Council should represent all stakeholders and interests in adult education and

extension in the country. Ideally, it should be a statutory board, but if establishing such a statutary board will take months and years rather than days and weeks, one should be satisfied with the establishment of a high powered committee with enough prestige, and with the central ministry of education serving as its secretariat. It is, of course, necessary to provide sufficient resources for the functioning of such a council.

It should be of historical interest to participants of this Symposium to know that the International Conference on Adult Education held in Tokyo in 1972 had made an exactly similar recommendation suggesting the establishment of such national associations or boards to enlist wider participation, and the Tokyo Conference had further recommended that such associations or boards be matched by the establishment of national institutes of adult education to provide professional and technical support to the organizational work of associations and boards (Unesco, 1972). Some countries have indeed established such boards already though their functioning has left much to be desired.

This NAEC recommended above, at the very moment of its institutionalization, should take several further initiatives discussed below:

2. A NATIONAL MISSION; AN OVERALL PROGRAM FRAME

The NAEC should, in its very first inaugural session, come up with a statement of the national mission in adult education, with an outline of a national program frame. The national mission could be "Lifelong Learning in the Context of a Learning Society." The outlines of the national program frame could also be general at this stage, talking generally of immediate, intermediate and ultimate objectives; national and international institutions that will collaborate in the achievement of these objectives; strategies for resource development for the implementation of the program; and approaches for inviting broad-based participation of the people in their own education.

The NAEC should disseminate the mission and program frame immediately and widely through formal and informal channels, inviting all stakeholders and the general public to comment and contribute to the collective definition of the agenda and its implementation. While different media and materials may be used in this dissemination effort, a small booklet of about 16 pages or less should be the core material in this package. This booklet should describe, the country's development mission, the role that adult education (generally conceived to include all

extension) will play in the development effort, and the organizational efforts that will be required if the adult education mission and the adult education program under discussion are to be implemented.

3. AN ORGANIZATIONAL SURVEY OF ADULT EDUCATION

The NAEC should make a comprehensive survey of adult education institutions and their current work in the area of adult education. Such a survey should answer questions in regard to: the purpose and content of their program, its duration and phases, its coverage, the existing delivery mechanisms and the resources committed to the program by the government and those contributed to it by the community.

4. MAKING SOCIO-GEOGRAPHIC MAPS

The Council should also draw national, regional, and community maps for the delivery of adult education services. Such maps should be socio-geographical maps that combine physical and social aspects in the required delivery network. These maps should be maps on what is on the ground in terms of delivery systems developed by different organs of the government and by vountary associations. Networks developed by businesses to market goods and by churches and other religious bodies should also be mapped.

5. DEVELOPING THE BLUEPRINT FOR A COMPREHENSIVE ORGANIZATIONAL NETWORK

The NAEC, again with the greatest urgency, should develop a blueprint of a future organizational network for the delivery of adult education services nation-wide. This blueprint, of course, should be built upon the maps developed on (4) above. Special attention should be paid to the need for interfaces between formal and nonformal education. Nonformal education should include adult education as well as extension services. Both indigenous institutions and modern secular institutions should be conceptualized to be part of the network. The modern secular institutions will have to include the media institutions of television, radio and newspapers.

There is more to blueprinting and networking than making surveys of adult education institutions and drawing socio-geographic maps for the present and proposed delivery systems. To actualize institutional networks, both formal and informal linkages will have to be developed and kept alive through continuous coordination and interaction. This will mean that some people will have to be assigned clearly, and even solely, to coordination roles within each organization. Adhocratic

arrangements such as advisory committees, and task forces will have to be created and kept working, and issues and aspects will have to be identified and elaborated around which coordination can take place.

6. SOCIAL MOBILIZATION OF RESOURCES

In some countries it may be necessary to undertake adult "literacy" initiatives, or even adult "education" initiatives in the campaign mode. It may be necessary in such cases to establish National Service Schemes requiring those among students and citizens who can help others to actually do so. The organizational mechanisms for undertaking adult education campaigns need not be temporary. Permanent campaign headquarters can be established to organize, implement, and evaluate adult literacy, adult education and development campaigns on a continuous basis.

7. TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONAL LEADERSHIP AND SUPPORT

The NAEC as part of the political and institutional initiatives will also need to provide professional and technical leadership by establishing several task forces to deliberate on the questions of continuously defining and redefining national missions and program frames, planning and coordination between and among organizations at the national level, establishing national level research and training systems, and building infrastructures for the production and publication of instructional materials and aids.

8. ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING THROUGH TRAINING

Building the management and professional capacity of organizations of adult education at all the various levels from the center to the field is the most challenging of the tasks ahead. Commitment has to be joined with competence. The needs in the area of capacity building are multiple:

(a). Needs assessments
(b). Project planning and decision making
(c). Budget preparation and control
(d). Personnel management and supervision
(e). Mobilization of teachers and learners
(f). Participative curriculum development
(g). Instructional materials and technology
(h). Training of personnel
(i). Handling logistics of delivery and support
(j). Developing a culture of information rooted in both descriptive and evaluative information, and
(k). Action research.

Needs assessment. Needs assessment is a process that is never complete and always has to be repeated at various levels. The needs assessed to be important at the national level have to be re-stated in the context of regional settings and then re-invented at the levels of communities. The ability to do so is by no means widespread. Indeed, too often adult educators see global and local needs in conflict and are unable to translate global needs in local terms. The capacity to marry the local with the global must be built at all the various organizational levels within the adult education system.

Project planning and decision-making. Ability to plan projects to achieve particular objectives within communities or clusters of communities and to be able to take day-to-day decisions that are informed decisions is, again, an important theme for capacity building within adult education organizations.

Budget preparation and control. Adult educators everywhere in the world seem to live from hand to mouth. Most of the problems arise from absolute scarcity of resources for adult education. However, some problems can be traced to the inability to prepare and control budgets for projects. Simple principles of budget preparation and control should be disseminated.

Personnel management and supervision. Adult education, and particularly adult literacy, are often part-time voluntary work. Two connected problems arise: On the one hand, voluntary workers are given very little monetary awards (as little as US$ 5.00 a month in many countries) and hardly any other non-monetary incentives. On the other hand, expectations of work from them are such that a whole-time worker would need to put a full day's work to fulfil those expectations. Personnel management in adult education needs to cope with these distortions. At the same time, supervisors need to act as mentors of volunteers in the field rather than as their bosses.

Mobilization of teachers and learners. Mobilization of both teachers and learners is needed. Motivations are not spontaneous and motivation building requires both information and persuasion. Too many of literacy workers and adult education workers are themselves uninformed about the uses of literacy and are unconvinced of the work they are supposed to be promoting.

Participative curriculum development. Curriculum development, like needs assessment, is a task that has to be done continuously and at various levels. Some curriculum

development will have been done at the national level and will have been embedded in books and visuals. But some local curriculum of relevance to the particular group of adults will have to be added to the national curriculum. This localized curriculum development is difficut. Participative curriculum development at the local level is even more difficult. Without suitable capacity building, it will be unrealistic to expect anything from our field workers in this regard.

Instructional materials and technology. Adult educators at the grassroots will always need to procure or prepare instructionl materials of special relevance to their groups. They need help in learning to do so. What is often neglected is the fact that local workers also need to learn the assumptions and structures embedded in the centrally produced materials to be able to use them intelligently and to supplement centrally provided materials with local materials.

Training of personnel. All capacity building requires training. Training for role performance is particularly important for teachers and supervisors. The delivery of training, we suggest, can be best done through a series of workshops using the Action Training Model (ATM) (Bhola, 1983; 1989b). The model permits local validation of curriculum, learning materials of relevance to the program in context and transfer of responsibility. Each of the series should be organized using a multiplier model so that the first batch or batches of trainees can then train their colleagues at their own level and also their associates at lower levels within the system.

Logistics of delivery. Many adult education programs fail or lose steam because of a lack of prior attention to the logistics of delivery. Capacity for the management of logistical quetions is important. Even very simple principles of the PERT technique, taught in one-day seminars, can help.

Developing a culture of information. Adult education institutions need to become "cultures of information" wherein the collection, storage, retrieval and use of information relevant to the program becomes a norm and a habit and where all decisions are, therefore, informed decisions. Descriptive information about the program should form the bedrock of the "culture of information." Evaluative information -- of both naturalistic and rationalistic types -- may be developed when needed (Bhola, 1990).

Action research. Adult educators should be encouraged to design their projects and programs on the basis of the knowledge they now have. In many cases, it may be a matter of acting on

the basis of insufficient data. There is nothing to feel guilty about it as long as we organize all our programs as if they were at the same time action research projects. We should then be able to "improve as we move" and make our programs continuously more responsive and more effective.

9. DEVELOPING AND DEPLOYING RESOURCES

Resources are more than money. Knowledge is an important resource. In talking about capacity building under 7 above, we were in fact talking about building knowledge resources. Institutions themselves once established become a resource for developing further institutions. Care should be taken to develop institutions both of delivery and technical back-stopping of the institutions of delivery (Bhola 1989c).

We will need to develop resources from public, private and community sources to implement. Voluntary efforts are necessary but one must keep things in perspective: the poor and the educationally disadvantaged are often too poor to contribute. International donor agencies are another important resource.

10. DEVELOPING AND SUSTAINING POLITICAL WILL

Adult education, like all other education, is a political project. Without the political will, none of what has been suggested is possible. The NAEC should, therefore, do its best in the management of wills -- the political will of the national leadership, the institutional will of the bureaucracy, and, last but not the least, the people's will that they may contiue to demand their share of the knowledge capital and the educational goods brought to them by adult education.

CONCLUSION

In reviewing theory and research, in reflecting on practice, and in examining suggestions generated by use of models, we should keep in mind the fact that the difficult task of inventing organizational solutions in particular contexts remains. If anything, at the end of reading this background document the task may have begun to look more complex and less certain. That indeed is the reality. Institution building and organizational development are complex tasks performed in the context of uncertainty. But complexity should warn us against simple-minded solutions and should be seen to present real professional challenges. Uncertainlty should by no mean be equated with impossibility. One can not, of course, make

deductive uses of theory or imitative uses of practice. Models are to "think with", not to "dipense with thinking." This paper would have served its purpose if it has helped participants to be inspired by the work their colleagues elsewhere have done, and if it has enabled them to handle complexity without cutting reality into ribbons of simplicity, and if it has given them some insights for use in inventing innovative local solutions.

NOTES

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